A SHORT BROCHURE

ON

THE KALLARS

BY

M. R. Ry. A. Sivakolundu Mudaliar Avl., B. A.

RETIRED TAHSILDAR,

TANJORE.

PUBLISHED BY

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PAPANAD HOUSE,
Tanjore.
15—4—1926.

From

M. R. Ry., P. S. RAJAPPA Avl,, M. L. C.,
Chairman, Municipal Council, Tanjore
and
Junior Zemindar of Papanad.

To

SIR,

The Kallar community fill a very large space in the life of this and some other districts in the presidency. Yet no history of the race has till now been written, though there are to be found vague references here and there in the writings of eminent historians and others interested in antiquarian researches. Mr. A. Sivakolundu Mudaliar, retired Tahsildar of Tanjore, whose official duties had brought him into connection with this community, has been at pains to collate the existing material and to produce the accompanying booklet. It does not pretend to any finality; but it is hoped it will form the nucleus for other enquirers to work from. I have, therefore, thought it my duty to send you an advance copy of the same so that we may benefit by the opinion of learned scholars like you who have been working in the field of historical learning and research. May I therefore request you to be so good as to give your opinion on the book at an early date so that its publication may be accelerated?

Begging to be excused for the trouble given,

I remain,
Sir,
Yours faithfully,
P. S. RAJAPPA.

OPINION.

I have perused with considerable interest Mr. A. Sivakolundu Mudaliar's brochure on *The Kallars*. Mr. A. Sivakolundu Mudaliar has used well in this booklet his Tamil scholarship and his official experience for elucidating the past history, and for achieving the present uplift, of the Kallar Community. The author's speculation about the origin of the name *Kallar* is of much interest. We should however await literary and historical information in regard to the theory about the transition from *Choran to Kallan*, though it is easy to follow the theory about the transition from *Chozhan to Choran*. The view is held by some scholars that the Kallars are the descendants of the Pallavas who came south and conquered portions of the Chola and the Pandya territories and who were probably given an opprobrious designation by the large population inhabiting the conquered tracts. Whatever be the mysteries of historical origin, there is no doubt that the community has considerable energy and initiative and virility. Under the guidance of its leaders and with the glad and willing co-operation of the other Hindu communities it is bound to play a great part in the future history of South India, and the author who has given a clear and succinct amount of the origin and growth of the community has done thereby a patriotic work which is conducive to the well-being of our beloved land.

Tanjore.
17—4—26.

K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI,

Sub Judge, Tanjore.

KUMBAKONAM,
19—4—26.

My dear sir,

I am very grateful to you for sending me a copy of the booklet on the "Kallar" community, its origin, and its past, present and future. I am very glad that the truth will henceforth become known everywhere and that, not only will the tongue of slander be silenced, but that the existing deterioration will, by Siva-Peruman's grace, soon become a thing of the past. I strongly hold that, as the community bears His holy name, there is not the slightest need to change it, and that the future is going to be a bright state of all round advance. I hope you will start a fund to reach 10 lacs at least to help that advance, and shall be glad to hear from you again in time.

With best regards and wishes.

I am, yours very truly,
K. SUNDARARAMAN.

"ARDENDALE"
KODAIKANAL.
20th April 1926.

MR. P. S. RAJAPPA M. L. C.,
Tanjore.

DEAR SIR,

I have to thank you for kindly sending me a copy of the short history of the Kallars. Dealing with origins is always difficult, and I cannot say much about the origin of the Kallar community. I should think however that Mr. Sivakolundu Mudaliar has done a piece of valuable research work in the little book before me. The Rev. John Santegrin, Church of Sweden Mission, Madura has published a thesis on the Kallar Community of South India, if you have not already I would suggest that you write to him.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
A. J. SAUNDERS.

V

M. S. PURNALINGAM PILLAI,
LECTURER IN ENGLISH,
Munnirpallam, B. O.
Tinnevelly Dt.
28—4—26.

DEAR SIR,

I am thankful to you for the booklet you have sent to me for my opinion. It is written with infinite pains and contains a mass of historical information about the three great South Indian dynasties and those of the Pallavas and Chalukyas. So far so good. But I fear that Mr. Sivakolundu Mudaliar's theory of the Kallar origin rests on quicksands. Sanskrit has ல for ழ, and also ள since the Vedic age. Tamil பழம் has in Sanskrit பலம்; Tamil மதில் has Sanskrit மதிள். The occurrence of ள sound in the first verse of the Rig Veda 'Agnim ile purohitam'='I praise Agni, domestic priest' shows that the Sanskritist could have written 'Chola' as சோல or சோள with greater ease, and the form 'sora' for Chola' is of purely European origin though Sanskrit owns a word, 'Sora,' which means 'thief' or 'the fallen.' The exchange of ள for ழ by the famous Tamil bard Puhalendi in the stanza quoted on page 30 should not be overlooked in this connection. Whether the kings gave the name Chola to the country or whether they came to be called after the name of the country remarkable for some staple product or other is a point yet to be settled, but the latter view has the general consent. Further, 'Kallan' is a synonym of 'soran' and not a derivative, and Sanskritists could not have called Chola 'Kallan.' A name given by a foreigner in its original or mutilated form is accepted by the uncivilised indigenous people out of ignorance, but never a synonym of it. This repudiates the Sanskrit origin of the name. I pass over the mythological or fanciful derivations of it examined in Chapter I as they serve no useful purpose, but it must be noted that களர் is no contraction of கள்ளர் and does

not refer to black but saltish soil 'களர் நிலம்'=உப்பு, உவர்நிலம்' and never 'கரிசல்.'

Again according to Tholkappiam the denizens of 'palai thinai' are maravars described in ancient Tamil classics as வன் கண் மறவர். This community was bifurcated into வெட்சி and கரந்தை மறவர். The former were waylayers and plunderers and the latter, defenders of the poor and oppressed. The waylayers and depredators were known in common parlance as கள்ள மறவர், as in the saying 'கள்ள மறவர் கனத்த அகம்படியர்' or, briefly, கள்ளர் as against their brethren of good reputation. Though there are thieves in every group or tribe of men, any group or tribe notoriously addicted to thieving and depredation from generation to generation generally goes under the name denoting that habit or pursuit, and the tit for tat of the Madura Kallars which is twice quoted by Mr. Mudaliar with evident approval is not only meaningless but irrelevant.

As regards the phrases 'kalvar koman, kalvar peruman Thennan' etc. they, signify 'the lord of or suzerain over the Kallars' and not necessarily their *leader* 'Kalvar' and 'Kallar' are only variants and not corruptions. Both Chola and Pandya kings had maravars, both வெட்சி and கரந்தை, in their service and respected them for their military prowess or trustworthy service. But this does not prove that the Rulers *were* Maravars. It is a case of hysteron—proteron that, because, after the down fall of the three great South Indian dynasties, their Generals and Commanders became petty chiefs, known in later times as Zamindars, it is proper to argue that the fallen rulers themselves dwindled into Petty Chiefs and their descendants were Marava Zamindars or 'kist-farmers' of particular areas under the British Government. In this presidency there are many Marava Zamindars of the above mentioned type who are responsible to Government for the payment of fixed sums for their enjoyment of definite areas. It is true that among the Maravars there have been and are good and

great, God-fearing and self-respecting men saints, savants and sages, poets and bards of no mean repute, as there have been and are among several other communities as Pariahs, Washermen, Shepherds, Shanars etc. But this does not in any way support Mr. Mudaliar's basic theory about Kallars. It only demonstrates that genius and talent and piety are not the monopoly of any one class or section of mankind. The depredating or Kalla, and the defending or protecting Maravars became in the lapse of time domestics and employees in palaces and gave up their respective nefarious or honourable military profession for the peaceful and independent and respectable occupation of tillers of the soil or 'Velalas.' வேள் = மண். Compare வேளான் or குயவன், the man who deals with clay. The amelioration of communities that have been depressed or oppressed by historic circumstances or by tyrants is a very desirable thing, and it is no derogation to admit that the ஆறலைக்கும community has almost abandoned its hereditary pursuit and risen into repectful civil and political life. When I refer to this elevation and to this ascent, I do not for a moment forget that the Tamil land had in times of yore no iron–bound caste system, that it recognised and respected worth and merit, personal purity and cleanliness, wherever found, and that their physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual advancement or otherwise alone decided their superiority or inferiority. Groups of men advanced in every important respect and keeping up that advancement from generation to generation have come to be looked upon as superior or higher with sanctity of birth attached and the whirlgig of time exposes everywhere the shadow without the substance as unworthy of regard and esteem and drags the charlatans down in the scale of creation.

I would conclude my review of Mr. Mudaliar's brochure primed with facts and fancies in a strange medley with the famous couplet form Thiruvalluvar's Universal Ethical Code embodying the purely Tamilian view of men and matters.

For my frank expression of my opinion Mr. Mudaliar will, I hope, pardon me.

Here the poet refers to 'all lives,' not merely to all human lives as spiders ants etc., have obtained salvation by their golden deeds.

"பிறப்பொக்கும் எல்லாவுயிர்க்கும் சிறப்பொவ்வார்
செய்தொழில் வேற்றுமையான்"

Yours sincerely,

M. S. PURNALINGAM PILLAI.

PREFACE.

In 1890, while Sub-Registrar of Nagore, I was asked by the then Inspector-General of Registration to write a treatise on castes and creeds, in which connection I had to study Sutha Samhita and other books. Ever since inquisitiveness got rooted in me and led to the study of the customs, manners, habits and peculiarities of all classes I came in contact with, Muhammadans not excepted. In 1897, I was appointed Sub-Magistrate and Deputy Tahsildar of Vallam which has 114 *pattis* all peopled by the misnamed Kalla community with whom I had to move rather closely in the course of my duties. I visited and camped in each and every village which gave me an unlimited scope to study their ways and manners; and their chief peculiarities, are, with the Muhammadans, their prostration at the sight of kindness and virtue and their rudeness and ferocity at the sight of disrespect and injustice. All dissuasions notwithstanding from officers and friends on the score of lack of personal safety, I spent nights together in these parts, and I found the "Kallars" respectable, God-fearing, religious and devout at all times, but bellicose when unjustly provoked or interfered with. Solagampatti village, now favoured with a railway station close by, was 30 years ago dreaded as the wildest village which the Police and the magistrates would not visit out of an incredible fear of maltreatment. Without guide and without fear I camped there for revenue collection and was lodged in a storeyed building vacated for me by its owner, the chief of the village, who tendered me the usual respects of the village. When I demanded of him the village arrears of kist, he promised payment within a week, which he did accordingly. He gave me the necessary supplies and sent a basket-ful of flowers for my pujahs which the villagers witnessed with rapt attention as a novelty in their village. At night I was treated by them to recitations from the Puranas which I delightfully heard with my comments now and then. Next day I changed my camp and the villagers followed me to a mile's distance, expressing their pangs of regret at separation and lauding me to the skies. Similarly and with equal results were other dreaded villages visited by me such as

Komapuram, Mudukulam etc. This only put me in mind of the Shakespearean golden rule : " And this above all, be true to yourself and it will follow as the night the day, Thou can'st not be false to any ". My experience about this community in other taluks only served to confirm the impressions already formed. Later on, I had to deal with the Maravars of Singampatti, a hard-hearted class of people by name, self-willed and stubborn, but respectful and spell-bound at sight of virtue and courteous demeanour, but never wily, though on the surface defiant and bellicose. Things so turned up thereafter that I had to move with the Maharattas both as Government Officer and as a Palace Agent. In both the capacities I found them respectful, independent and God-fearing as a class, with but one failing, namely an addiction to expensive habits, means permitting or no. Having thus had occasion to study the ways and manners of several communities as above mentioned, I was every now and then confronted with the doubt why this class of people, with their peculiar characteristics, should be miscalled Kallars

At about this time movements were started for their betterment, Sangams founded and Conferences held for their uplift and for getting abandoned or postponed the introduction of the Criminal Tribes Act. And my doubt, already entertained, thickened ; to dispel which I resorted to ancient literature in the Palace Library and studied in special William Taylor's Oriental Historical Manuscripts, Orme's history and some district manuals. I have been led to the conclusion that the Tamil word, சோழன், to which Royal race this community belongs, having been mistransliterated into Soran, சோரன், in English and Sanskrit, Hindi and Maharatti languages for want of a corresponding letter to the Tamil ழ, the misnomer of சோரன், கள்ளன் arose. To make myself doubly sure on the point, I contributed an article to the " Hindu," an important Madras daily, about this community with a view to profit by public criticism, if any. No remarks for or against have as yet emanated and the article as published is hereunder reproduced. My friend, M. R. Ry. P.S. Rajappa Avl., M.L.C., referred the matter to the late ever-to-be lamented Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, M. A., L. L. D., I S. O., President, Madras Legislative Council, for his opinion as

an undisputed authority of vast erudition on such questions. His letter of reply supporting my view appears below. Thus emboldened, I have dared publication of this work, thanks to the kind support and zealous encouragement of M. R. Ry. P. S. Rajappa Avl., M. L. C., I must particularly record here my acknowledgment to the Pudukottah State General History as also to the book styled "The Pallavas", by Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar. I crave the indulgence of the learned public to the inevitable imperfections in a novel work of this kind.

The Author.

Extract from *The Hindu,* Madras, dated Thursday January 3, 1924.

"THE KALLAR COMMUNITY"

"Their Origin and Ancient Position"

"How to elevate them"

Mr. A. Sivakolundu Mudaliar writes from Tanjore:—

The renaissance of the Kalla community, numbering 5,34,000, has become the subject of paramount and complicated interest in the district of Tanjore. The amelioration of their status is indeed a desideratum and the sooner it is carried out, the better it will be to wipe off the slur attaching to them by name, since among them are counted Rajas, Zemindars and landed aristocrats of highest nobility '*Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasts*'. Ere suggesting measures for their upheaval it is but necessary to enquire and settle who these people are, to what caste this community belongs and why they cannot be named as Kallars, meaning as popularly interpreted, thieves.

WHAT 'KALLA' CANNOTES.

The word 'Kalla' is susceptible of different interpretations connoting

1. Residents of black soil (kalar).
2. Those who adopt the Ghandarva system of marriage.

3. People whose conduct is above ordinary perception as the word (Kalvan) is applied to God himself.

4. Offensive soldiers who will unscrupulously kill enemies.

5. Thief as popularly used and understood.

As for the first, in time-honoured Tamil writings, e. g. *Tholkappiam*, which is 3000 years old, only 5 classes of lands and people are mentioned *i. e.*, Forests with herdsmen as residents. 2. Seashore and fishermen. 3. Mountains and Koravars. 4. Level country and ploughmen. 5. Barren lands and Maravars, but no mention is made of black soil nor of Kallars. These, therefore do not form a primitive tribe nor residents of black soil. As for the second, Ghandarva marriage was and is still prevalant among Koravars who are not called Kallars. It was in vogue among other classes too, some of whom even now go through it for form's sake. As for the third meaning of this word, if this community is possessed of mystic powers of invisible, clairvoyant, clairaudient necromancy, it is only an honour to them as a class of superior beings, and the only question will be how they came to be so gifted. The next interpretation of "offensive soldiers," which the military classes are presumed to be, will only credit them with Kshatriya origin and descent. Thus the question at issue is how the interpretation crept in as meaning 'thief' to which the resenting retort by the Kallars of Madura tracts as noted in page 39 of the District Gazetteer for Madura is to urge "that every other class steal, the merchant by watering the arrack, and sanding the sugar and so on."

The Chola Dynasty.

3. Historical researches disclose that Tamil has been in existence from antediluvian periods, from 9989 B.C; that it flourished during the 3 Sangam periods, each of thousands of years; that it emerged after their natural extinction presumbly under the law of 'the survival of the fittest', and that the Cholas were Tamilians. The said Cholas are a royal race which as one of the farfamed triumvirate 'Chera, Chola, Pandya', is believed to have

flourished in the times of the Great Bharatha War in which one of the Chola Kings is said to have assisted Dronar with his army from start to finish. The said race lived gloriously before the Ramayana period, as will be clear from instructions given by Sugriva to Hanuman in the latter's search of Sita, mentioning the three prosperous kingdoms of Chera, Chola and Pandya. The genealogy of the Chola is found detailed in Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao's history of the Chola Dynasty from the commencement of Kaliyuga till the beginning of the 14th century A.D. whereafter also they continued to reign, if not so prosperously, till the end of the 17th century, when the Muhammadans and the Mahrattas gained the ascendancy. And as is the fate of all conquered races, the Cholas were ousted from their cities and had thus to settle here and there as petty Rajahs and landed aristocrats.

A Misnomer explained.

4. For want of a corresponding letter in the English, Sanskrit and Mahratti, the word (*Tamil* சோழன்) had to be transliterated into Sora in Sanskrit and Mahratti which was copied in English writings, *vide* William Taylor's Oriental Historical Manuscripts and in Sasana Pattayam translations. Thus it has become an irony of fate that a former ruling race, the Cholas, came to be called Sora which means Kalla, the Tamil interpretation being thief or 'fur' (homo trium literarum, the three lettered man). It is but natural that an overpowered race will be derided with humiliating epithets such as thieves etc. specially when in their heartburning the vanquished resort to vindictive measures at sight of their conquerors. The above misconception is no wonder when we know within living memory that a mistransliteration, of course innocent, can lead to degrading and fantastic consequences as Hamilton's bridge converted into barber's bridge from the former's Tamil pronounciation. The same "Kalla" has subsequently become corrupted by Mahrattas into 'kalru,' a word now in use by the Mahrattas which was copied in Orme's history as callery. It will thus be seen that Kalla is a misnomer for *Chozha*, a sovereign power which once ruled over the whole of

India and Ceylon too and which intermarried with the Cheras, the Pandyas and the Sinhalese.

Method of Redemption.

5. The upheaval of the destitute portion of this community is indeed a desideratum; and necessary measures should be adopted which it is for the Government to organise in the political department. Of this class one fact may be adduced that one member is like another, endowed with the characteristics of independence, dauntlessness, appreciation of and submission to kindness and respect, resentment of and vindictiveness for insults and injuries, and instincts of God-fearing and devotion—all declining, but never wholly effaceable, under the dire influence of cruel penury. Nor is the whole community lineal descendants of the ruling Rajahs; most of them having been relations, chieftains, commanders, agents, sepoys and vassals from whom cannot be expected the utopian principles of justice which were realised by some of the Chola Rajahs. One scheme may safely be tried *viz* the extending to them of the benefits of co-operative activities as best suited to their tastes and inclinations. A few of them may well be the grant to them of cultivable lands, long term loans for cultivation purposes, purchase of seeds, extension of terms and further loans in times of seasonal failure and similar co-operative concessions. Of course, the propagation of co-operative principles in the so-called Kalla villages in lucid and easy ways should be the first step to be undertaken. Diplomatic caution is to be exercised in such extension of co-operative benefits by starting one co-operative credit society at least for each village, stifling factions with an impartial hand, inspiring confidence in the villagers and lastly teaching the handful of usurers here and there the principle of 'Each for all and all for each,' the motto of co-operation. Intellectual giants will be capable of suggesting more wholesome measures which are invited.

[Reference by Mr. P. S. Rajappa, M.L.C.,]

My friend Mr. A. Sivakolundu Mudaliar, who is also known to you, is writing a history of the Kallars. His view of their origin is summarised in his article to

the " Hindu ", copy enclosed. Please offer your opinion thereon.

[Copy of the reply letter].

8—4—1925.
Fort St. George.

Dear Mr. Rajappa,

I am of opinion that Mr. Sivakolundu Mudaliar is on the right track and have no suggestions to offer.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) L. D. SWAMIKANNU.

CHAPTER I.

Ere proceeding to write the history of the Cholas, misnamed Kallars, it may be helpful to enquire how the name Kallar came into usage and what was and is meant by the word. Various are the interpretations, which I shall first detail as advanced by several learned scholars adding my own remarks thereon.

One view is that கள்வன், a term applied to God Siva himself in the 2nd line of the first Padigam (பதிகம்) of the very first Thevaram (தேவாரம்) of Saint Tirugnana Sambhanda (திருஞானசம்பந்தமூர்த்தி சுவாமிகள்) is converted into கள்ளன்.

" தோடுடைய செவியன் விடையேறியோர் தூவெண்மதிசூடிக்
காடுடைய சுடலைப்பொடி பூசியென் னுள்ளங்கவர் கள்வன்......"

Of course He is the biggest lurking thief, " the Hidden Providence that walks among mankind, "கண்ணஞ்சனத்தர்" the grand necromancer; and his son, Sri Subramaniar is called a pukka thief, செம்மான் மகளைத் திருடும் திருடன்.

" கண்ணஞ்சனத்தர் கருணைக்கடலின
ருண்ணின் றுருக்கு வரன்னேயென்னு
முண்ணின் றுருக்கி யுலப்பிலாவானந்தக்
கண்ணீர்தருவரா லன்னேயென்னும்."

(அன்னைப்பத்து, திருவாசகம்)

" செம்மான்மகளைத் திருடும்திருடன்
பெம்மான்முருகன் பிறவான் இறவான்
சும்மாவிரு சொல்லறவென் றலுமே
யம்மா பொருளொன்று மறிந்திலனே."

(கந்தரனுபூதி)

The word will thus mean one who transcends ordinary human perception connoting, as it does, great and mystic powers usually ascribed to divine beings. The question to be solved thus becomes more difficult; for it is this: how this community came to be gifted with such powers. However dignifying, thus, this word may be, the mystery continues as to how and when this community came to be so called, as who is not and will not be thief when the Almighty Himself is honoured with this appellation as

will be seen from the following stanzas of Thiruvilayadal (திருவிளையாடல், Sacred diversions).

“வெள்ள நோக்கியழும்பு செம்பியன் மெலிவு நோக்கி விரைந்தெழீஇக்
கள்ள நோக்கிலகப்படாதவர் கனவுபோல வனனவில் வந்
துள்ள நோக்குடை யன்பருக்கரு ளுருவமாகிய சித்தர்தம்
பள்ள நோக்கிவரும் பெரும்புனல் வற்ற நோக்கினர் பார்த்தரோ.

“வறந்துவாறு கடந்துவந்து வடக்குவாயி றிறந்துபோய்
நிறைந்தகாவல் கடந்து வீதிகணீந்தி நேரியர் வேந்தனைச்
சிறந்தவாடக புனித பங்கய திப்பியப்புனலாடுவித்
தறந்தவாதறை சாமகண்டர்த மாலயம் புகுவித்தரோ.”

“மட்டலம்பிய தாதகி மாலையா
னுட்டதும்பி யொழுகியவன்பினாற்
கட்டிலங்கெயிற் கச்சியிற் காடெலாம்
வெட்டி நம்புடை வித்திய பத்தியான்.

“வந்து நம்மை வழிபடவேண்டினா
னிந்த வாயிறிறந்தழைத்தின்னரு
டந்து மீளவிடுத்துப் பின்றாட்கொளீஇ
நந்தமால்விடை நாம்பொறித்தேமெனா.”

[விடையிலச்சினை விட்ட படலம்.]

“இத்தொழிலன்றி வேறு தொழிலிவற் கின்மையாலே
பத்திரனிலம்பாடெய்தப் பொறுப்பரோபழனக் கூடற்
சித்த வெம்மடிகள் வேந்தன் பொன்னறைச் செல்வம்வௌவிப்
பத்தர்யாழிடத் தோளேந்திப் பாடுவான் காணவைப்பார்.

“சிலபொலங்காசு சின்னாண் மணிக்கலன் சின்னான் செம்பொற்
கலைவகை சின்னாளம் பொற்சாமரைக் காம்பு சின்னா
னலர்கதிரரிமான் சேக்கையாடகத்தகடு சின்னாள்
குலமணி வருக்கஞ் சின்னாள் கொடுத்திடக் கொண்டுபோவான்.

“கைவரும் பொருளைத் தந்தகள்வருந் தானுமன்றி
யெவ்வெவர் தமக்குந்தோன்றா தெரியிலிட்டழித்துஞ் சின்னஞ்
செய்வன செய்துந் தன்னைச்சேர்ந்தவரிரந்தோர் கைபார்த்
துய்பவர் பிறர்க்குமாறா துதவியுட் கவலைதீர்ப்பான்.”

[திருமுகங்கொடுத்த படலம்.]

To the point and sufficiently pertinent is a retort by the Kallars of Madura tracts noted in page 89, “Madras District Gazetteers—Madura” by urging that “every other class stole—the official by taking bribes, the vakil by fostering animosities and so pocketing fees, the merchant by watering the arrack and sanding the sugar and so on and so forth”. It will thus be seen that the word,

far from signifying felon, will mean a class whose ways are inscrutable, the how and the wherefore whereof will become intelligible hereunder ; since the term when shorn of its venom, becomes dignifying and honorific so much so that one of the Chola Kings was called கள்வர் கோமான்.

2. The next view propounded is that Kallar is derived from களவு, a kind of marriage going also by the name of காந்தர்வ விவாகம் and that hence the Tamilians who observed this system of wedding were designated as Kallar for which Irayanar Ahapporul is often cited as authority. But yet the same kind of marriage was and is here and there prevalent among the Koravars as will be seen from the following :—

பண்டேதொடர் பற்றோடு சுற்றமெனும்
வெண்டேரை மகிழ்ந்து விழித்திடவே
கண்டே குறமங்கை தனைக்களவில்
கொண்டேகடிதேகிய கொற்றவனே.

[கந்தரனுபூதி.]

which refers to the traditional history of Sri Subramania's marriage to Valliammai.

The practice is prevalent among Maravars and Mahrattas too, who did carry away the would-be bride ; the latter class even now celebrate this time-honored custom for the sake of formality and yet they are not described as Kallar. With this misnamed community—the commendable chastity of their females being testified to by all historians and by their practice of 'suttee'; till it was supressed by the British Government, and pre-puberty marriages on principles of endogamy and consanguinity having been and being in vogue–elopements and stealthy marriages are unimaginable. Hence the application of this term to this class cannot hold water.

3. A third explanation is tendered that கள்ளர் is derived from கள் meaning களைதல், வெளவுதல், வஞ்சனை, and hence designates offensive soldiers who will unscrupulously kill enemies. Certainly other classes also resort to these things which are licensed in warfare. It does not therefore help to explain how this community, the fierce Colleries of Orme's history with a reputation for independence, came to be so designated.

4. A fourth explanation is given that கள்ளர் is derived from களர் a kind of soil black in colour, the residents whereof have been called by this name as if no other class of people did or can dwell therein and as if other tribes have been allotted separate species of land wherein to live and undergo the so-called nature's imprisonment. In நாநிலம் (4 kinds of earth), mention is made of 5 classes of lands and people with the names of the respective dieties.

(1) முல்லை—Forest, herdsmen, Sri Krishna.
(2) நெய்தல்—Seashore, fishermen, Varuna.
(3) மருதம்—Level country, ploughmen, Indra.
(4) குறிஞ்சி –Mountain, Koravars, Sri Subramania.
(5) பாலை—Barren land, Maravar, Durgai.

Vide Taylor's Oriental Historical M.ss. Page 30—[author not cited.]

மாயோன் மேய காடுறை யுலகமும்
சேயோன் மேய மைவரை யுலகமும்
வேந்தன்மேய தீம்புன லுலகமும்
வருணன்மேய பெருமண லுலகமும்
முல்லைகுறிஞ்சி மருதநெய்தலெனச்
சொல்லிய முறையால் சொல்லவும்படுமே.

[தொல்காப்பியம்.]

In the above special mention is made of குறவர் and மறவர், elsewhere described as wild tribes or people less civilised than the others, the former as a tribe of homeless vagabonds pilfering whatever they can lay hands upon and the latter as a fierce and turbulent race and the terror of their neighbours and as oldest in the southern country. But no reference is made to Kallars as would have been natural had they existed as a primitive aboriginal class, and hence this interpretation of 'residents of black soil' also falls to the ground.

5. A fifth commentary is also adduced by some scholars calling this community as Indrakula for which is cited as authority தொல்காப்பியம், " வேந்தன்மேய தீம்புனலுலகம்," already quoted, guileless indeed as it refers to ploughmen inhabiting level countries fertilised by rain the gift of Indra. But if it refers, as some assert, to the fabulous

story of the three offsprings of the illicit intercourse between Indra and Ahalya, the unfaithful wife (and yet one of the paragons of chastity) of Goudama, nothing can be more ridiculous and unimaginable than the above. The laughable wonder is that one of the three, the alleged Kallan, ashamed of or frightened at what is un-thinkable, hid himself behind the door, the second Maravan climbed up a tree and the third Ahambadyan assumed a bold defiant look—all an astonishing fabric of an inventive brain, no authority wherefor is to be had in the Ramayana, Sanskrit or Tamil. In support of the Indrakulam origin other stories are adduced :—(1) That Devendran in his mundane excursion married a virgin to whom were born several sons, of whom one became king known as Thondaman meaning Rajah of Thondainadu, as will be seen from Pudukokattah Thondaman vamsavali written by Venkanna in 1750. (2) That Indrani chairvoyancing that Devendran was infatuated with the love of Ahalya assumed the latter's guise by the help of her divine powers and satisfied Devandran's lust, whence were born the three sons who became the rulers of the Tamil countries and who are all thus of the Indrakulam, for which too authorities are cited such as Puvindrapuranam and Kallakesaripuranam.

What is more wondrous is that a proverb, not old nor found in any writings, is given currency to that Kallan became Maravan, Ahambadyan and Ahambadyan turned out to be a Vellala, a series of metamorphoses obviously misinterpreted, while the only correct translation can be, "the theivish Maravar became the pukka Ahambadyan and the latter slowly and surely became the Vellala," the rythmical Tamil being கள்ள மறவன் கனத்த தோர் அகம்படியன் மெள்ள மெள்ளவந்து வெள்ளாழன் ஆனான்.

6. Another interpretation is that the term is only a modification of Kalvan after the name of Kalvar Koman (கள்வர் கோமான்), one of the earlier Chola Rajahs. Being descendants of the said Kalvar Koman by countless pedigrees and removes, this community, it is alleged, though of Chola race, has been uniformly styled Kalvar which has been corrupted into Kallar. The interpretation is no doubt ennobling, but requires elucidation as to how the word, obsolete for so many centuries as regards so many

successors of the said Kalvar Koman, should be popularised and obtain currency within 3 or 4 hundred years.

7. One more interpretation is that the word owes its origin to Killivalavan one of the Chola Rajahs who reigned between 105 and 150 A. D. Being his descendants, it is put forth, this class is known as Kalla according to the symphonic redundancy very usual in Tamil. Killa-Kalla. This explanation is no doubt pleasant, but it only raises the further issue why this redundancy should be popularised within no distant past and with a susceptibility to a bad meaning.

8. Another elucidation is also forthcoming as Kallan or Kalvan meaning dark-coloured on the authority of திவாகரம், "கள்வனென் கிளவி கரியோனென்ப" and of பிங்கலந்தை, "கடகரிப்பெயரும், கருநிற மகனும், கர்க்கடகராசியும், ஞெண்டும் கள்வன்."

Indran is hence called 'niger' and hence this community likewise as being his descendants, Chola being styled மால் (Vishnu) on account of his black colour and the Aryans describing the Tamils as black in the Rig Veda mantras. All the above interpretations, however plausible, do not convincingly bring home how a community not known to exist primitively by a particular name came to be later named in that way, neither dignifying nor relishing, susceptible of a debasing interpretation especially in consideration of the titular agnomens and cognomens, numbering 330, held by them, some of which pertain to royalty as will be shown later in these pages. The Pudukotta State General History gives quite a different explanation *Vide* page 43. "The earliest settlers in these parts may be taken to have been the Kurumbars, the modern representatives of the ancient Pallavas who were once so powerful in Southern India." "When they settled here cannot of course be definitely settled. They were found in Thondamandalam, the land of the Pallavas, in large numbers and must have gradually drifted to these parts from that tract or directly come over here from the Canarese country through the Palni Hills.........It is therefore not unreasonable to surmise that the Kurumbars must have settled in these

parts in the earlier centuries of the Christian era after driving out the Vaduvars or Vedars the original inhabitants, the most lawless of the Naga tribes, whose sole business was cattle-lifting and pillage. Dr. Oppert cannot be wrong when he stated that the Kurumbars must be regarded as the very old inhabitants of this land who can contest with their Dravidian kinsmen the priority of occupation of the Indian soil. The Kurumbars were a pastoral people who owned large flocks of sheep. They have not disappeared from the State and are now to be found in some places, Sillupatti and Aranipatti." (Page 42.) "In the medieaval division of the Tamil land into 12 tracks the portion between the Pandinadu with Madura as its capital and the Punal Nadu with the Cauveri flowing through it, is given a special name 'Panri Nadu'. There seems to be no doubt whatever that the name was given to these parts after it had been peopled by the Kurumbars". While Mr. Kanagasabai's inference that the descendants of the Veduvars are known by the appropriate title of Kallars or thieves seems to be unwarranted, equally unwarranted is the tracing of the Kallars to the Kurumbars. The whole question as to their origin has thus puzzled Mr. Nelson, the famous author of the Madura District Manual, who, doubting the correctness of the word's origin as currently explained, includes them, reluctantly though, in a distinct non-Hindu caste for which no authority has been cited, concluding with a remark that the matter is an intricate one worth diving into by somebody leisured and versed therein; while Rao Bahadur Venkaswamy Row in his Tanjore District Manual asserts about this community that the Tanjore District is the most advanced in Aryan civilisation in the south and presents therefore very few features of primitive original life-which strikes at the root of the alleged existence of the Kallars as a separate caste.

CHAPTER II.

Ere proceeding further it is necessary to enquire what is caste. A Portuguese word, it is liable to many misconceptions. As derived from Latin *Castus*, it implies purity of creed. In the Census Report of 1901, Volume 1. page 517, a caste is defined as a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name which usually denotes or is associated with a specific occupation, claiming common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine, professing to follow some calling and forming a single homogeneous community. The Madura District Manual describes caste as a large or small community of men of one race and language who are knit together by common interests and by common social laws and customs peculiar to such community and are in a greater or less degree dissociated from the rest of the population of which they form a part by the circumstances of their having such interests and following such laws and customs. It applies, the Manual adds, in some cases to an entire tribe or people as the Maravars. According to the Census Report of 1911, a caste may be defined as an endogamous group or collection of such groups, bearing a common name and having the same traditional occupation, who are so linked together by these and other ties such as the tradition of a common origin and the possession of the same tutelary deity and the same social status, ceremonial observances and family priests that they regard themselves and are regarded by others as forming a single homogeneous community. The Census Report of 1922 says: ' The characteristics of a caste will be endogamy, commensality, a common name and common traditions, though intermarriage and commensality seldom extend to the whole caste and are generally restricted to sub-castes or endogamous groups within the caste." In Sanskrit, Sudasamhita, a part of Skandapuranam, are mentioned 4 main castes formed from the face, the arms, the thigh and the feet of Brahma, besides which are detailed various castes as made up from the above by diverse and intricate processes of inter-relation, among which all is made no mention of Kallars as should and would have been had they existed primitively. A warn-

ing is, however, therein conveyed that castes are formed by birth alone and not by their variegated Karmas. *Vide* Sloka 51 of Chapter 12 of 1st Kandam. Nor is this community specified as falling under any of the classes detailed in Edangai and Valangai groups, a subject of sanguinary disputes in the good old days. The number of subdivisions of this community is 411, though names have been traced out for 330 alone with the customs, manners and ceremonies peculiar to each. There is thus no iota of evidence to bring this class of people under the category of a particular caste.

Far-famed is their spirit of independence though considerably toned down in their transition from ruling tribes (military and dominant) to agricultural classes; *vide* their assertions in olden times, while refusing to pay tax, that 'the heavens supplied the earth with rain, their cattle ploughed the land, they cultivated it, and therefore there was no possible reason why they should pay anything'. Their manly sport of *Jellicat* detailed below will speak for itself as to their intrepidity and invulnerability. The game is thus described in the Madura District Gazetteer. "On a day fixed and advertised by beat of drum in the villages and at the adjacent weekly markets, a number of cattle, to the horns of which clothes and handkerchiefs have been tied, are let loose one after the other in quick succession from a large pen or other enclosure among furious tom-tomming and loud shouts from the crowd of assembled spectators. The game consists in endeavuring to capture the clothes tied to the horns of the cattle so let loose. To do this requires fleetness of foot and considerable pluck, and those who are successful are the heroes of the hour, while cuts and bruises are the reward of those who are less skilful. The sport can boast a very respectable antiquity".

Nor does this community put forward claims to consideration as one of the higher castes as done by others supported by material provided by the fertile brain of inventive writers of pseudo-Puranas etc., In view of all the above, the theory of this community belonging to a separate Kalla caste falls to the ground, composed as it is, as will be seen hereafter, of families of foreigners whose

ancestors settled in the country at different times having been led thither in search of subsistence by Rajahs and petty chiefs or having been driven out of their own countries by invasions, revolutions, famines and epidemics, and as the necessary consequence thereof composed of 411 subdivisions from the greatest to the lowest in numerical importance. The idea of associating this community with thiefs or robbers, as meant by the word 'Kalla' in several southern languages, is repudiated by Mr. Nelson in his Madura District Manual, they having been after fearful struggles and bloody massacres immigrants from Thondamandalam and settlers in southern parts from whom sprang a large community—struggling for independence and imbued with a bold independent spirit which they never failed to evince. As apposite to our present point the following from Pudukottah State General History is worth citing: The Kallars are mentioned in the very ancient classic அகநானூறு as a fearless, uncivilised people that lived originally in the mountain about Thiruvenkatam or Tirupati capturing elephants in these mountains with great skill and exchanging their white tusks indirectly through other mountaineers for grain. Their leader is said to have been one Pulli who was very dexterous in taming violent and uncontrollable elephants. They seem to have been originally invited to these parts by a Pandya called in the same anthology கள்வர் பெருமான் தென்னவன், which might be interpreted as the Pandya that was the leader of the Kallars.

CHAPTER III.

How then came this sect of people, set down in the 1921 census as 5,34,000 in number. a pre-eminently agricultural class, to be called Kallars a word commonly used in Canarese, Telugu, Malayalam and Tamil to indicate a thief. The Tamil language, though oldest the world can boast of, has no lexicon nor does it own an encyclopædia which other recent languages are endowed with for the reason of course that it is divine and hence immortal, oral transmission and tuition as done for sacred *mantras* being deemed the best and the most efficient as well as the most unerring way of learning. Of course a நிகண்டு is in existence detailing metrically and rhythmically the various meanings of words in their alphabetical order, but it has also to be learnt by rote as is now done by scholars in their boyhood to be of any practical use. They are useful only to those who have mastered them ; and are of no use to the busy man for ready reference : and further are not easy of remembrance. Tamil words are elastic and susceptible of the diverse interpretations which Pandits learned in the Sanscrit language can cast upon them, making an admixture of both languages favourable or unfavourable to their views, as occasions suit but not often sympathetic with Tamil. There can be little doubt that Tamil is the oldest language, the word Tamil being derived from தமி meaning incomparable, *Vide* Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency Vol. 1, Page 42: "There is little doubt that the Dravidian languages are incomparably older in point of time than the Sanscrit. It is not an unreasonable supposition that they once occupied the whole of Hindustan and have been driven to the present position to the south and along the coast by the encroachment of other languages coming from the North West." Again at page 49 we read: "North Indian Civilisation when it came as far south as the Tamil country found the people already in possession of the art of writing and of cultivated languages. In consequence of this, Sanscrit did nôt regulate the Tamil phonetic system and held the place of a foreign learned language." Again at page 112, 'As far as present evidence goes, however, they (the Dravidian languages)

are indigenous to India and perhaps specially indigenous to Southern India. As to their language no other is known to which it can be affiliated. It stands alone without any immediate predecessor. In origin it must be long anterior to the Sanscrit, which has subsequently played so important a political part with regard to it. Its original strength is shown by the great persistence of the grammatical formation through all the vicissitudes of history." Again Pope in his translation of Kural says: 'Tamil is an independent language (not a dialect of Sanscrit) with a copious and original vocabulary." Dr. Caldwell, in his Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, says at page 4:—"The language Tamil, being the earliest cultivated of all the Dravidian idioms, the most copious and that which contains the largest portion and the richest variety of indubitably ancient forms, is deservedly placed at the head of the list". Again, "from the various particulars mentioned above, it appears certain that the Tamil language was of all the Dravidian idioms the earliest cultivated, it also appears highly probable that in the endeavour to ascertain the characteristics of the primitive Dravidian speech from which the various existing dialects have been drived, most assistance will be furnished by the Tamil" [Page 56] Vo. 1, Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency says "Tamil literature is the oldest among the Dravidian languages. To the sage Agastya (of unknown date) are attributed not only the formation of the alphabet and the first treatise upon grammar but also a number of treatises on various sciences. But nothing authentic survives from such an ancient time. The oldest extant Tamil Grammar is called Tholkappium, that is to say 'the ancient book'. Such a book must have been preceded by centuries of literary culture as it lays down rules for different kinds of poetical composition deduced from examples furnished by the best authors whose works were then in existence. Its date cannot however be fixed". Again at page 31 of Comparative Grammar by Bishop Caldwell we are told "The Tamil, however, the most cultivated *ab-intra* of all Dravidian languages, can dispense with its Sanscrit altogether, if need be, and not only stand alone but flourish without its aid". As asserted

by the learned Kanagasabai Pillai, the Tamil language is replete with original words and phrases, poetical, grammatical, astrological, Vedantic, medical, philosophical etc., which were and have been in existence prior to the advent of the Aryas.

Writings and discoveries establish that the first Sangam lived 4,400 years before Kaliyuga in Lemuria, south of India till its 49 நாடு were destroyed by the sea; that the second Sangam thrived for 3,700 years in the Kaliyuga till destroyed by the floods at கபாடபுறம் (North Madura); that the third Sangam flourished at Madura for 1,000 years (till 1,200 A. D); and that Tholkappium is 8,000 years old and that Tamil is as old as 9,900 B. C., documents in Tamil being available as old as 8,000 B. C. In the oldest of languages, the word சோழர் is in use from times unfixable, while the letter, ழ, whose origin is still more antique has no faithful correspondent in the subsequent languages and as will be seen, the view is held in these pages that the word சோழன் came to be written by non-Tamil knowing scholars as சோரன் which has been interpreted as an ordinary noun—and not a class name—to indicate a thief.

Divergent views as to the origin of this community may be briefly brought together here. The learned author of " The Tamils of Eighteen Hundred Years Ago " inclines to the view that the Kallars are a tribe of the fierce Nagars. Some historians have held the view that in times anterior to Chola rule, the ancestors of the tribes now known as Kallars and Maravars ruled over the Chola country, with Tanjore, Kumbakonam and Kaveripatnam as their capital cities. The view has also been advanced that the Kallars represent a fusion of the Nagas and the Cholas. The Pallava origin of the Kallars is held by the eminent historian Vincent Smith. In Section IV of Chapter XVI of *The Early History of India*, we read *in passim* : " The name Pallava resembles Pahlava so closely that Dr. Fleet and other writers have been disposed to favour the hypothesis that Pallavas and Pahlavas were identical, and that consequently the southern Pallava dynasty of Kanchi should be considered as of Persian origin. But recent research does not sup-

port this hypothesis, which was treated as probable in the first edition of this work; and it seems mere likely that the Pallavas were a tribe, class or caste which was formed in the northern part of the existing Madras Presidency, possibly in the Vengi country, between the Krishna and the Godavari. The persistent hostility of the Pallavas to the territorial Tamil states, and the fact that tradition does not assign any recognised territorial limits to the Pallava dominion are indications that the Pallavas were distinct in race from the Tamils, and that their rule was superimposed upon that of the Rajahs of the Pandya, Chola and Chera countries, the three states which together covered the whole area of the south, according to constant tradition. If we suppose that the Pallavas, like the Mahrattas of the eighteenth century, were a predatory, blackmailing class or tribe, which gradually acquired by force almost complete control of the Chola state, and partial mastery over the other Tamil Kingdoms, I think that the known facts will be found to accord with such a supposition. The Rajah of the Pudukkottai tributary principality, who is the recognized head of the Kallar tribe, still styles himself Rajah Pallava, and claims descent from the ancient royal family............ The later Pallava chiefs sank into the position of mere feudatory nobles and officials in the service of the territorial kingdoms; and it is on record that the Pallava Rajah took the first place among the feudatories of King Vikrama Chola early in the twelfth century. The Rajahs can be traced as in possession of limited local power down to the thirteenth century, and Pallava nobles are mentioned as late as the close of the seventeenth century. After that time all trace of the Pallavas as a distinct race or class disappears, and their blood is now merged in that of the Kallar, Palli, and Vellala castes."

The last sentiment partakes of the nature of an *ex cathedra* utterance; and Dr. V. A. Smith nowhere gives us how he arrives at that positive conclusion. Regarding the foregoing only two remarks seem necessary. Firstly, the mere fact that there has been persistent hostility between the Pallavas and the Tamil Kingdoms need not necessarily connote different racial origins, where there is no other testimony on the point. Secondly it has not been shown if the Pudûkotah Rajah

claims lineal or racial descent from the Pallavas. As against this, we have to put the testimony of Dr. Burnell and others that of the royalties that ruled over this part of India, the Cholas have been called Kallars. It may be useful to see how this came about.

The word Sora, Soren has been in use throughout Vols. 1 and 2 of William Taylor's Oriental Historical Manuscripts as also in Sasana Pattayam, Salivahana Sahabtha, 1680, Kaliyuga 4861 written in Tamil C. P.No. 15 of 1920—21 Line 9. Soramandalam சோரமண்டலம். In Tamil திருவிளையாடல் புராணம், the word சோழன் is uniformly used (vide திருவிளையாடல் of பரஞ்சோதி முனிவர் — 14, 22, 24, 30, 34, 35, 37, 40, 50, 61, 62), which is transliterated throughout as Chola in Madura District Manual, in Madura District Gazetteer (1906) and Tanjore District Gazetteer (1908) and Epigraphical Report (1921); while the Tanjore District Manual (1883) spells it as Chola, in Orme's History it is spelt as "Sora." As throwing additional light on the question, I think it pertinent and necessary to quote the remarks of Robert Sewell in Vol. 1 of the Archaelogical Survey of Southern India, Page 5, Preface. ' In some cases I felt a considerable difficulty such as in the spelling of the name 'Chola' (Sanskrit Chola, Telugu Chola or Choda, Tamil Sora). Here I have kept to the Sanskrit as being the best known and least likely to lead to confusion, the original Sora being little known to English readers. But in quotations from inscriptions I have always kept to the original orthography properly transliterated, it being quite as erroneous to represent a Tamil writer as speaking of Chola as it would be to represent him using the word Chola or Choda the letter ழ being quite different from ள, வ or ட.

In consideration of the above, the inference is clear that owing to the absence of letters in Sanscrit, Devanagari, Granda and Telugu, the languages current in Southern India, though by way of intrusion, corresponding to ழ in Tamil, the word சோழன் transliterated as Soren has been misinterpreted in its current meaning of Kallan as thief and this after conquest by Mohammedans and Mahrattas.

Contributory to the above misinterpretation is the name assigned to one of the Chola Rajahs, Kalwar Koman, after whom the name Kalla in modified form must have arisen, the Pandya that invited this sect to the southern parts having been called " கள்வர் பெருமான் தென்னன் " which may be interpreted as the Chola that was the leader of the Kallars. Be the derivation as it may, from one or the other or both, it is the Cholas that have been mis-named Kallas (and not Kalwars) with a bad meaning attached as noted in the note to page 158 of the Pudukottai State General History. " The Rajah is the head of the great Kalla or robber caste of South India–the Campbells. The same history concludes (page 481) " Small as it is, it is the only principality that stands to-day to represent the ancient Kingdoms of the Pandyas and the Cholas, the most important kingdoms of Southern India mentioned in the edicts of Asoka." Confirmatory of the above is the detail given in page 117 of the same history of 11 more tribes that settled along with Thondaman, namely மணிகாரன், பன்றிகொண்டார், பிற்பன்றிகொண்டார், காடுவெட்டி மேனாட்டரயர், பல்லவராயன், ராங்கியன், போர்ப்பன்றிகொண்டான், கலியிரான், அடையவளஞ்சான் and கலிங்கரான் whose cognomens with very many others are in common use with this community, Thondaman being not a title of rank but a family name borne by many ryots of the Thondaman stock. It may also be added here that Pandit M. Srinivasa Iyengar refers to the view that the Kallars are a sect or tribe of the Cholas and that likewise the Maravars are a tribe of the Pandyas.

CHAPTER IV.

It is but natural that a subjugated race is called by the conquerors with insulting or humiliating names, especially when in their heart-burning the conquered resort to vindictive measures at sight of their conquerors and enemies and much more so when the conquered people of an ancient dynasty are undaunted and independent. And to their physical prowess add the traits of God-fearing, charitableness and moral integrity, which are displayed by this community far above others, so much so that 6 of the 63 Saiva Saints belong to this community as also one of the Alwars which will speak volumes in their favour.

The last, Tirumangai Azhwar, a renowned Vaishnava Saint and poet married Alamelu Mangai, the daughter of one Mani Thondaman who reigned at Thiruvenkadam. One Munitharayan, a chieftain of Virasholagam, was a zealous devotee of Vishnu who established in his name the Munitharayan Pongal at Tirukkannapuram (Nannilam Taluq) which is even to-day with religious fervour prepared and offered at about mid-night to the Perumal. Again one Karunakara Thondaman, a minister to the then Chola Rajah, was so devoted to Sri Thiagarajah of Tiruvalore that he merged and disappeared in the Divinity. Nor in point of literary fame or charity and patronage of literature did they yield the palm to any of our diverse races and communities. Many a poet, many a Pandit and many a Commentator were fed and favoured by this race; and even now are to be found under their patronage many a Tamil luminary, as Munshis, Professors and Editors. Nowadays too can be seen evidences of their religious fervour *vide* their மச்சக்காவடி, Kavadies with suspended pots of cooked fish, cooked chicken and cooked serpents and with vessels of river-sand, all hermetically sealed, the contents, the animals-emerging alive when opened at the sight of Sree Subramanier and the sand turning out as sugar; *vide* their தீமிதி, fire ambulance in front of Droupadai, Mariamman and Sree Subramanier their செடில் (gyrations on iron pikes) at the sight of Mariamman, their அலகு, (silver nails to any number pierced into the body) with காவடி carried on their shoulders or dragged

by the said hooks, their cheerful ambulance on iron-piked sandals, their standing and dancing on drawn-up swords, their devouring and swallowing of lit-up fires and camphors and their other wondrous feats of religious zeal on occasions of divine inspiration. Abundant are unrebuttable instances of God's intercession on behalf of their ancestors, the Chola Rajahs, favouring their country with copious rains (vide 14th Thiruvilayadal), God's taking the Chola King on the surface of Vaigai waters to worship the Lingam at Madura and leading him back across the river (vide 34th Tiruvilayadal), miraculous conversion of the Chola King from Buddhism and the curing his daughter of dumbness through Saint Manickavasagar.

These Thiruvilayadals (Sacred diversions) apart, instances are not wanting of God's interference in behalf of this community.

(a) In a hamlet of Sholagampatti peopled by this misnamed community, as are all patties to the west of Tanjore, two brothers after some disputes for partition had their lands divided by the village arbitrators and one of them having no seed grains for cultivation begged for some from the other. The latter's wife out of the usual jealousy and spite give him some corn purposely fried which the innocent brother broadcast upon his fields. These sprouted and bore ears of gold corn out of which after harvest the favoured and loyal brother paid 1/6 portion to the Rajah for sircar dues. Amazed thereat the Rajah learning the details lavished, with his wonted kindness, favours upon the said innocent brother and ordered to be planted on the western bund of the village tank a stone within an inscription (now heiroglyphic) narrating the above incident, on which account the hamlet goes by the name of பொன்விளைந்தான்பட்டி, about 2 miles to the north of the S. I. Ry. Station Sholagampatti.

(b) Discovery of Sri Marriamman Goddess that lay interred at Ukkadai (M. R. Ry. Rao Bahadur T. Annaswamy Thevar Avergal's Estate) by one Saliah Thevar of Perungalore, founder of the Ukkadai family. The Goddess's insistent intercession and interest in the family's prosperity led to the stifling of neighbouring villagers' jealousy and spite and to the settling of an un-

settled boundary dispute between Ukkadai and Sirumanallur.

(c) Conquest and eradication of the invincible Thandagars, a class of people, residents of Pamani, 2 miles off Mannargudy by the Zemindar of Papanad, the Rajah of Tanjore and his minister strengthened by the cream (பால்குழம்பு) prepared and offered to the Jayankondapuram God and the building of a Siva Temple there, and of the temple of Karuvarutha Vinayagar.

The saying, "வாழ்ந்தான் கெட்டால் வரையோட்டுக்காகான்," is familiar to all, meaning that a mud pot, worshipped and respectfully carried on the priest's head and used for divine ablutions is cast away as refuse when broken, and implies all the heart-rending degradations a subject class will be put to. It is to be borne in mind that what goes by the name of diplomacy among fighting Rajahs and Kings will be summarily disposed of as rebellion and theft in the case of the same or other classes if and when overpowered. The word கள்ளர் (and not Kalwar) as applied to this class or community, a powerful ruling class from the beginning of the Kaliyuga, is thus a gross misnomer for the Chola dynasty. A mistransliteration has led to an insulting injury to one of the three ancient dynasties which ruled over Chola Desam. Such mutilations and murders of languages ,though fraught with far-reaching consequences, are not rare in South India. Our well known Cholavandan is called Soravandan by William Taylor in his Oriental Historical Manuscripts who adds that from Soramandalam (*Vide* its use in sasanapattayam already referred to) comes Choramandal of the ancient geographies and subsequently Coromandal coast. Thank God, that on this analogy the Cholas were not called Coravas. It is not strange if one of the English writers went to the extent of interpreting Cholamandalam as meaning the country of சோளம் (Maize). It is thus no wonder that this mistransliteration has been taken as genuine throughout : and had led to the consequent mistakes, which we are attempting here to expose. And this must have been from the middle of the 17 century after the advent of the Mahrattas into South India, the Maharatta Tamilised word for கள்ளர் being Kalru used

as Callery by Mr. Ormes, the historian and of late transformed into 'coloured' by a correspondent to the "Patriot" in his report of the Tanjore Collector's speech on the occasion of the grant of the title and sunnad of Rai Bahadur to the Zamindar of Papanad.

CHAPTER V.

It being thus made out that the miscalled Kallars are of the Chola dynasty, a note about the latter will be pertinent to the present history. Tradition has it-and William Taylor so writes-that the two dynasties of Chola and Pandya existed from the beginning of Kaliyuga. About the existence of the Cholas from the beginning of Kaliyuga, which is now 5,026 years old, no doubt need be entertained as will be seen from the following from page 26 of " Doubts of Infidels." " The bones of man of the type of the North American Indian have been exhumed from the delta of the Mississippi at New Orleans which were found lying below the fourth forest level and, making large allowance, must have lain there for more than 50,000 years. The exhumed relics of ancient civilisation in the valley of the Nile antedate the history of the Jewish theocracy and the foot-prints of the Creator are found in the granite pages of the primary and fossiferous rocks long anterior to the fabulous era of the geneological history of creation. Humboldt describe a tree now growing on the famous gardens of Montezuma as more than 6,000 years old and another in Central America as but less than 20,000 years old." Kalingathu Purana clearly states that one of the Chola Kings assisted Dronar with his army in the great Baratha war from start to finish which was waged about 2,400 B.C. Tholkappiam, the most antique Tamil writing, treats exhaustively of the habits and customs of the Tamil people and among others of the flowers of victory worn by Kings who must have been Tamilians and the aborigenes of India. In the commentaries of Kural, 5th couplet of chapter ஒழிபியல்-குடிமை, aborigenes are said to exist as such in their customs and practices from the beginning of creation. In Valmiki Ramayana is mentioned that Sugrivan, in the directions to monkeys on their excursions southwards in search of Seetha, mentioned the three countries of Chera, Chola and Pandya they would pass through, which proves clearly that these were even in those ancient times far-famed valiant rulers. Famous also was their patriarchal Government with their motto of " Fiat Justitia ruat coleum", " Justice be done though the

heavens fall," *vide* an incident narrated about Chola Kings in the reign of Nedunchezhiyan I (A.D, 50-75) a Pandyan King (page 27 of Madura Dist. Gazetter Vol. I). " When the Pandyan King ordered his guards to behead a man on suspicion that he had stolen one of the Queen's anklets, the man's wife appeared before him, proved her husband's innocence and taunted the King with his hastiness. In her country the land of the Cholas, she exclaimed, the Kings were of a different stuff; one had saved a dove's life by offering his own flesh to an eagle which pursued the bird, and another had executed his own son for driving his chariot over a calf. Stung with shame at the woman's taunts and filled with remorse for his injustice, the Pandyan King fell fainting from his throne and expired shortly afterwards." So catholic was the philanthropy of the Chola Kings that one of them at sight of a vegetable creeper struggling hard for support left his car at its proximity for the tendril to spread on. The extent of the Chola Kingdom is, according to Pughazhendi, புகழேந்தி,

> கடல் கிழக்கு தெற்குகரை புரளும் வெள்ளாறு
> குடதிசைக்கு கோட்டை கரையாம் — வடதிசைக்கு
> ஈளமுதலாயிருபத்து நாற்காதம்
> சோளநாட் டெல்லையெனச் சொல்.

William Taylor describes " Sora Desam is the Carnatic, bounded on the north by the Palar, on the south by the Cauvery, on the east by the sea and the Ghauts on the west." Poetess Avvaiyar gives the same boundaries, but differently for north and south, (north Pennaur river and south Vellaur), the variation being due to changes in the extent of territories owing to the constant wars that raged between the Pandyan and the Chola kingdoms.

This Chola Kingdom is coeval and contemporaneous with the Pandyan and is of the Solar dynasty. It has been in existence from the Kaliyuga i. e., 3,000 years B.C.

Chapter VI.

Kasyappi, son of Brahma and Athithi, the daughter of Dakshi, brought forth the son whose offspring by Sangnati is Vaivasvatha Manu. Genealogy is available for both the solar and lunar races, the former in English stating that Jayasingh Pandyan ruled Madura during the first 32 years beginning rom Kaliyuga and the latter in Tamil by Mr. Gopinatha Row stating that Vaivasvatha Manu's son, Ikshvahu, founded the solar dynasty from whom descended Musukundan whose son was Vallabai, of whom was born Sibi. After Sibi reigned 26 kings of the solar dynasty from Urushnan down to Sumitran. After 13 reigns by Pandyans coming down to Kaliyuga 663, the posterity of Abimanya, son of Arjuna of the race of the moon, had become extinct and Parakrama Cholan, a war-like Prince negotiated with Ribamanyu of the race of the sun, drove out the Pandyan King and took the crown to himself. He ruled for 30 years, his son Kulothunga Cholan 40 years, his son Panchala Cholan, ruled 35 years, his son Loga Rakshaya Cholan 30 years. One of the Pandyan race, Devaka Manakaran, devoted to the worship of Sree Meenakshi conquered the Cholan through her favour and reigned 60 years. Next 5 more Pandyans reigned for 195 years coming down to 858, Kaliyuga. Merusundara Pandyan ruled over Chera, Chola and Pandyan kingdoms. Indra Varma Pandyan who ruled 23 years released the then Chola King who was in confinement, had him crowned and married his daughter. In the time of Sathru Sanghara Pandyan there being no male progeny to the then Chola King, the latter gave his daughter in marriage to the Pandyan King to whom two sons were born. The younger inherited the Chola kingdom and the elder who inherited the Pandyan conquered the seven Kingdoms. Several Chola Kings reigned thereafter.

In B. C, 576 the then Chola King, Kochchengannan, whose genesis is so edifying and interesting that the reader will not grudge a detail or two and who was canonised as one of the 63 saints, built many temples and conquered Madura. Old Tamil literature, Silappatikaram

etc., have extensively sung his praises as also of Perunarkkilli and Karikalan. Thirunavukkarasu Swamigal in his Thevarams has made a special mention of this Kochchengannan. Periapuranam has described his nativity and succession to the soverignty of the Chola Kingdom.

The traditionally-minded Hindu will have no hesitation in believing narrations in Periapuranam which is accepted as authoritative as its complier, Sekkizhar, is a high caste chief minister (Mudaliar) of vast erudition not to speak of his religious purity and moral rectitude, the far-famed founder of the Tondamandala Mudaliar community. All sects of Hindus take for granted transmigration of souls according to which tenet Kochchenganan was a spider in his previous birth. Gifted as it was with divine knowledge and devotion, the spider erected daily a cabinet pandal over the Sivalingam at Thiruvanoikaval remaining exposed to sunshine beneath a Jamboo (நாவல்) tree. An equally devoted but guileless elephant daily removed the cabinet as a mischievous rubbish, chafed at which the spider crept into the elephant's nostrils. Pained thereby the elephant struck itself to death on the ground crushing the spider thereby. The devoted spider got metamorphosed into King Kochchengannan, whose birth delayed by his mother till the auspicious moment is detailed in Periapuranam and whose praiseworthy reign and illustrious administration is sung by poets as also by Thirugnana Sambanda Moorthi Swamigal in Thiruppasura Pathigam. Further details are not available about him save that his imperial kingdom was world-wide and that on his demise he was canonised as one of the 63 saints.

The old annals of Ceylon say that the Cholas first invaded Ceylon as early as 247 B.C. and again a hundred years later. Loga Rakshaya Cholan reigned in B.C. 30 and Karikal Cholan between A.D 50 and A.D. 95 and his daughter married the Chera King. He lived prior to the time of Ceylon King Gayavahu I and invading Ceylon, captured many Singhalese subjects. Later on Gayavahu warned against Chola Nadu and released his subjects as will be seen from Mahavamsam Vol. I page 228 & 229.

A short note about Karikalan Cholan will not be out of place here. Illustrious was his reign and soul-stirring

are the incidents of his history. Born at an auspicious moment or, as tradition asserts, caused to be born by his mother, he was destined as foretold by astrologers to be an Emperor which he became in spite of incarceration from which he escaped by scaling prison walls; his foot was scalded in the fire created by his captors, whence his name கரிகாலன் (Karikalan) or charcoal-footed. It was this Emperor that surveyed the course of the zig-zag Cauvery, constructed bunds therefor, as also laid down irrigation channels and improved cultivation to such a marvellous extent that he was called பெருவளத்தான். Making Cauveripatnam his capital he constructed lighthouse, warehouse, docks and piers and improved all kinds of trade, inland and foreign, that he was dubbed with the title of திருமாவளவன். A sound and accomplished scholar, he improved education in all its phases so that in his time Tamil literature and fine arts touched their apogee. Then also lived Kabilar, Paranar, Mamular and others. God-fearing and devoted to the Hindu faith but tolerant of other religions, he founded charities, constructed temples and built asramas so much so that Sri Thirugnanasambandar in later times made a special mention of his name and sung his praises in the 7th Pathigam of திருக்கச்சியேகம்பதேவாரம்.

விண்ணுளார் மறைகள் வேதம் விரித்தோதுவார்
கண்ணுளார் கழலின்வெல்வார் கரிகாலனை
நண்ணுவார் எழில்கொள்கச்சி நகரேகம்பத்
தண்ணலாராடுகின்ற வலங்காரமே.

[திருக்கச்சியேகம்பம். 7-வது பாசுரம்].

Karikalan's son Nalan-Killi reigned till 105 A. D. His son Killi Vallan conquered Cheras and Pandyas and his first wife was a Princess of Ceylon. His son Peruman Killi reigned till 150 A. D. One Chola King married a Naga Princess to whom was born Thondaman Illandirayan.

Twentythree Chola Rajahs reigned till 906 A. D. whose names are not forthcoming nor details of their rule except the name of the last, Vijayalayan. Pallavas, whose history will be narrated in the next chapter, invaded and conquered the Chola territories and reigned from the 4th to 10th century. During which period the Cholas

here and there reared their heads as only petty Rajahs under the Pallavas awaiting prosperous times to dawn, helping of course their Pallava Rajahs in their battles. It was towards the close of the 9th century that Vijayalayan's son, Adithan I, backed by the Pandya Kings routed the Pallava Rajah and subjugated a portion of the Chola Kingdom. Thenceforward prosperity shined on the Cholas. Territories after territories were acquired. In Vijayalayan's time, Tanjore was seized and made the capital wherein a temple was built and dedicated to Kaliamman, the oldest temple in South Main Street. His son Adithan I waged war against Pallava King Nirba Thungavallavan and conquered the Chola Kingdom as is sung by Sundaramoorthi Swamigal.

கருமையார் தருமனார் தமர் நம்மைக்கட்டிய கட்டறுப்பிப்பானை
யருமையாந் தன்னுலகந் தருவானை மண்ணுலகங் காவல்பூண்ட
வுரிமையாற் பல்லவர்க்குத் திரைகொடாமன்னவரை மறுக்கஞ்செய்யும்
பெருமையாற் புலியூர் சிற்றம்பலத்தெம்பெருமானைப் பெற்றாமன்றே.

[சுந்தரமூர்த்தி சுவாமிகள்—கோயில் 4வது பதிகம்].

Adithan had two sons, Parandakan and Kumara Devan, of whom the former was crowned king in 907 A.D. He conquered the Pandyan kingdom and Ceylon. He conquered also the Panars, a valiant ruling race in North and South Arcot districts, and other kingdoms. His reign extended over forty years when at the end he re-established the Chola kingdom on a firm basis. He was succeeded by his eldest son Rajathithan in 947 A.D. He invaded Rashtra kudam ruled by the Rashtras, on the banks of the Thungubadra and defeated their King Akalavarshan alias Krishna Thevan III, also known as Kannara Devan. This Rajathithan after conquest was not fated to live and reign long, having been treacheously killed on the very night of victory by or under the orders of the Rastra King Kannara Devan. This Rajathithan was highly esteemed by his subjects so much so that every follower of his to his wars put up lights in his name in the Siva temple built by him at Tirunavalore known as Rajathithieswaram temple. After Rajathithan's demise the Rashtra King, Kannara Devan, seized the Chola kingdom and in his reign the subdued Pallavas emerged, conquered some territories and ruled for 18

years. After Kannara Devan's death in 971, his successors were attacked by the Western Chalukyas who seized the countries of Rashtrakudam. The Chola Rajahs, Kandarathithan and Arinjayan, brothers of Rajathithan, got possession of their kingdom and ruled, whereafter the latter's son named Parantagan II became Chola Emperor He was killed in his war against Vira Pandyan; and his wife, Vanavarmadevi underwent the suttee. Their statues were installed in Raja Rajeswaraswami temple at Tanjore and poojah therefor arranged by their daughter Kundavai. After Parantagan II's death reigned his cousin, Maduranthagan, whose mother was Sembianmadheviar, daughter of the petty king of Masha Nadu. His son Kandarathithan composed among others திருவிசைப்பா. Parantagan II's son, Adithan II, while yet a boy beheaded Vira Pandyan and toyed with the severed head. After Maduranthagan's death. Adithan II's brother's son, Raja—Raja Thevan, who was already the heir-apparent, ascended the throne in 985 A.D. re-established the dwindling Chola Kingdom and defeated Amara Bujanga Pandyan. He conquered several countries, Mysore included. In 1,006 A.D. he warred against Cheras and Vengainadu comprising the districts of Godavari and Krishna. These territories having been torn by factions from 972 to 989 he sent his son Rajendra Chola Thevan to conquer them. The latter not only subdued those countries, but also captured the Chalukya King Vimaladithan and brought him to Tanjore. Interned at Tanjore the said Vimaladithan after 23 years got into the good graces of King Raja Rajan, married his daughter and was restored to his own kingdom. This Raja Rajan, conquered and acquired Kalinga Nadu and defeated Nulambar (நுளம்பர்) a branch of the Pallavas. He also subdued Coorg and Kallan territories. He then conquered Ceylon and became the emperor of the 3 kingdoms of Chera, Chola and Pandya His conquest of Western Chalukyas is memorialised in a sculptural inscription in the Tanjore big temple. He got dubbed with various titles such as மும்முடிச் சோழன், க்ஷத்திரியசிகாமணி etc. and performed in his 29 years of his reign துலாபாரம் (present of his weight of gold) while one of his queens தந்திசக்திவிடங்கி performed ஹிரண்யகர்பம் (gold present) at Tiruvisalore and the queen mother த்ரைலோக்ய மாதேவியார் built லோகமகாதேவீசுரம் at Tiruvadi. It is to

this Rajah the magnificient big temple of Tanjore praised by Karuvurar in திருவிசைப்பா owes its construction and consecration. In his memory is enacted a drama every year called Raja Rajeswaram. He is called திருமுறை கண்ட சோழன்.

செல்வமிகு திருநாரையூரின் மேவுஞ்
சிவனளித்த மதகரிக்குச் சிந்தை கூர்ந்து
நல்லபுகழுடைய நம்பியாண்டார் நம்பி
நண்பினோடு நிவேதிப்பான் மதுரமிக்க
வெல்லையில் வாழைக்கனிதே னவலோடப்ப
மெள்ளுண்டை யிவ்வுலகோ ரெடுக்கவென்றே
மல்லன் மிகுசேனையுட னிராசராச
மன்னவனு மந்நகரில் வந்துசேர்ந்தான்.

[திருமுறைகண்ட புராணம், 60.]

In his time all the lands were measured and the system of levying 1/6 பகுதி established.

He was succeeded in 1012 by his son, Rajendra Chola Devan, who like his father conquered territories one after another and many islands also and was for his extensive learning called பண்டித சோழன். He settled in his kingdom many a Brahmin family from Gauda (கௌட) and other parts and founded a city by name கங்கைகொண்ட சோழபுரம், where was constructed by him a Siva temple by name கங்கைகொண்டசோழீஸ்வரம், chanted by Karuvurar in his திருவிசைப்பா. After reigning till 1032 he was succeeded by his son Rajathi Rajan who appointed seven of his relations as regents of his seven territories, warred against the Pandyan Chiefs, killed two of them and routed the third. He fought with Kundalar and defeated their king and his general. He warred against and defeated the Pandyas and in his battle with the Chalukyas lost his life. In 1552 he was succeeded by his brother Rajendra Thevan who like his brother appointed his relations as petty Rajahs; conquered the Chalukyas, got his daughter Madurantaki married to Kulothungan I and was killed in one of his wars. In his time prevailed a severe famine whereby his exchequer got exhausted. It was he that constructed at Sri Rangam a பிரகாரம் Prahara (cincture of streets round the temple) called after his name Rajamahendram Tiruvidhi. In 1062, Vira Rajendran who

ascended the throne, continued the Chalukyan war, defeated the Chalukya Rajah, conquered other territories and finally when challenged to war by the conquered Chalukyan Rajah, proceeded thither and not finding the challenger ஆகமவல்லான் (Ahamavallan) burnt his city and planted there his flag of victory and conquest. Finally when Ahamavallan's son Vikramadithan surrendered himself the Chola Rajah got his daughter married to him and restored him to his kingdom. Virarajendran was succeeded by his son அதிராஜேந்திரன் (Adi Rajendran) whom Kulothungan, the dispossessed Chalukyan Prince, killed in warfare. This Kulothungan claiming descent as grandson of Rajendra Chola Thevan by his mother Angamadhevi ascended the Chola throne. This Kulothungan was called and praised as Anabayan, அனபாயன். in *Periapuranam* and *Kalingathuparani* as follows :—

கையின்மான் மழுவர் கங்கைசூழ் சடையிற்
கதிரிளம் பிறை நறுங்கண்ணி
யையர் வீற்றிருக்குந் தன்மையினாலு
மளப்பரும் பெருமையினாலு
மெய்யொளிதழைக்குந் தூய்மையினாலும்
வென்றிவெண் குடை யநபாயன்
செய்யகோலபயன் றிருமனத்தோங்குந்
திருக்கயிலாயநீள் சிலம்பு.

[பெரியபுராணம், திருமலைச்சிறப்பு, 10]

சென்னியபயன் குலோத்துங்கச் சோழன் றில்லைத்திருவெல்லை
பொன்னின் மயமாக்கி யவளவர் போரேறென்றும் புவிகாக்கு
மன்னர்பெருமா னநபாயன் வருந்தொன் மரபின் முடிசூட்டுந்
தன்மை நிலவு பதியைந்தினொன்றாய் விளங்குத்தகைத்தவ்வூர்.

[பெரியபுராணம், சண்டேசுர நாயனார், 8.]

He ruled the Chola kingdom and also Vengunadu. He conquered also Kalinga Desam which conquest and victory is sung in கலிங்கத்துப்பரணி, Kalingatuparani. His first act of beneficence to the kingdom was the abolition of tolls, on which account he is called சுங்கந்தவிர்த்த சோழன். He built many Vaishnava and Siva temples and in his time lived Sekkizhar Nayanar, சேக்கிழார் நாயனார், who composed the *Periapuranam*. The famous Sri Rajagopalaswami temple at Mannargudi we owe to his beneficence and it is styled குலோத்துங்க விண்ணகரம் after him. After a reign of 49 years, from 1070 to 1118, he was succeded by

his son Vikrama Cholan, who had for 8 years been trained as heir-apparent. Vikrama Cholan reigned over Kalinga and Venganadu. For the 8 years of his reign a famine prevailed in which he protected the subjects with extraordinary tenderness. A devotee of Sri Vishnu he constructed two streets in Sri Rangam called after his name as Ahalangan tiruvidhi and Tiruvikraman tiruvidhi.

He was suceeded by his son Kulothungan II, who was in turn succeeded by his son, Raja Raja II. Of these two kings no details are forthcoming save that Ulas (உலா) were composed in their names called *Kulottunga Cholan Ula and Raja Raja Ula.*

Next reigned Rajathi Rajan II, whose precise relationship to either of the above is not ascertainable. In his time it would seem that internecine wars raged among the Pandyans backed by the Ceylon Rajahs with fluctuations of defeats and victories. It was during this period that one Kanda Deva Malava Royan, கண்ட தேவ மழவருயன் conquered portions of Ceylon and appointed regents therefor. Discomfited in his endeavours to defeat the Ceylon King, Kulasakara Pandyan besought the help of the Chola King who sent his army to his assistance, with no appreciable turn of the wheel. The ravages by the Ceylonese became intolerable so much so that, according to a tradition, one Ethirili Chola Sambuvarayar, எதிரிலி சோழ சம்புவருயர், besought the help of his priest known as Swami Thevar, who by his penances and prayers got the Ceylonese routed. Next ascended the throne Kulothungan III, who conquering Vira Pandyan and his assistant, the Ceylon King, restored the Pandyan kingdom to Vikrama Pandyan. He also conquered the northern territories of Conjeevaram and one of his petty Rajahs Amaraparanam Seeya Gangan got the *Nannul* written by Pavanandi Munivar. This fart famed Chola kingdom founded by Parantakan I, strengthened by Raja Rajan I and improved by Kulothungan I came in course of time to be ruled over by weak Rajahs like Kulothungan III, Raja Rajan III and his son Rajendran III who devoted themselves to sybaritic enjoyments. Though the times were peaceful and the petty Rajahs loyal, Raja Raja Kadavarayan of Magada and Kulothunga Vanakovarayan became jealous and declared themselves enemies. About the time,

at the instance of the Chola general, Raja Rajah Sethurayan, nine other petty Rajahs including Sambuvarayan, the conqueror of Pandinadu, Chola Sambuvarayan 1, Kulothunga Chola Sambuvarayan, Rajendra Sethurayan and others entered into a compact in 1178 binding themselves to support the Cholà Rajas at all times and denouncing and excommunicating the above-said three chiefs as traitors and enemies. In the 24th year of Kulothungan III's reign famine prevailed rice selling at 1 உழக்கு per காசு. Next reigned his son Raja Rajan III who was ousted by Sundara Pandyan and then restored at the instance and support of Bosla Narasimha Thevan II, who was the father-in-law of the Chola king. This Bosla was on that account styled as the establisher or founder of the Chola kingdom. Thus reigned Raja Rajan III till 1246 when Rajendran III ascended the throne, and subjugated his uncle Vira Someswaran, and conquered Kerala and Pandya kings. In 1251 Sundara Pandyan became styled Maharatta Rajan and conquered among others the Chola Nadu. Thus it was that the Chola Kingdom dwindled. Rajendran III reigned thus for 22 years after which some petty Rajahs ruled, among whom may be mentioned Vera Cholan and his son Virasamban, nominally for 60 years till 1314 A. D.

CHAPTER VII.

Deep and well-considered was the Chola system of government. The Rajahs realised the consequences of any failure of justice, as described by Athi Vira Rama Pandyan:

இருவர் தம் சொல்லையு மெழுதரங்கேட்டு
இருவரும் பொருந்த உரையாராயின்
மனுநெறி முறையின் வழக்கிழந்தவர்தாம்
மனமுற மறுகிநின் றழுத கண்ணீர்
முறையுறத் தேவர் மூவர்காக்கினும்
வழி வழி ஈர்வதோர் வாளாகும்மே.

They would invariably enter into consultation with ministers who were as a rule popular representatives and dictate their decisions to scribes who transcribe and get them read in public mandapams. The principle of decentralisation was understood and acted upon by them; and their kingdom was divided into mandalam which was further subdivided into various subdivisions, each mandalam presided over by some respectable descendant of the Royal family and called Mandalikar. Each Nadu was administered by an Adikari who should attend to the collection of taxes in the Nadu and administer justice therein. Each village was administered by a Sabha constituted every year by the citizens themselves and selected from learned men versed in the Shastras and capable of writing out their own orders. The members of the Sabha must be guiltless and unsuspected persons, capable of dealing justice as per rules prescribed for punishment, the Adhikarai of the Nadu not exercising control over the Sabha the King dealing with it directly. Argus-eyed were their ministers who would with kindness watch the interests of the Royal house as well as of the people and unflinchingly give advice to their Rajahs, who usually unswervingly abided by their admonition. Public revenue was never neglected but preserved and augmented by whatever sources possible. Irrigation was punctiliously attended to. Channels and tanks have been constructed as also dams, the Grand Anicut from the time of one of the Cholas. Sanitation was then carefully attended to as also people's comforts, avenue plantations

having been extensively laid, not to speak of public rest-houses, asylums and chattrams. Religious and Godfearing to their marrow, they were careful in the preservation of their temples, considerable attention being devoted to s:ulptural inscriptions. Their ideals and methods of warfare compare extremely favourably with those of our modern civilised nations as the Cholas never violated the moral law nor ever did oust the subdued race from their country, but often entered into marital relations with them and reinstated them in their lands. This accounts for the fusion of so many dynasties with the Cholas. Realising their position as God's nominees, and as such aware of their onerous duties to their subjects, they exercised only a patriarchal authority passing sleepless nights in patrolling streets and enquiring into public welfare, of which a typical instance can be cited from திருவிளையாடல்.—

கோமுறை கோடாக் கொற்றவரேறே முறையேயோ
தாமரையாள்வாழ் தண்கடிமார்பா முறையேயோ
மாமதிவானோன் வழிவருமைந்தா முறையேயோ
தீமைசெய்தாய் போற்செங்கை குறைத்தாய் முறையேயோ.

[பழியஞ்சின படலம், 17]

The story is also an illustration of extreme casuistry; and is here given on the view that tradition, which is only the concretisation of the nation's experience, has an authority in the matter. Vicariously taking on himself the guardianship of a Brahman lady whose husband had left for Benares, the King would keep watch and ward over her house every night in person. One night, however, hearing a great noise inside, he tapped the door and being informed that the husband had returned, he left. But apprehensive that the husband might perhaps thereby suspect him or his wife's fidelity, the King tapped the doors of all the houses in the street. Next morning the Brahmans of the street complained to the King of the vexatious tapping of their doors the previous night; the King stretched forth his offending arm and lopped it. Hypercritical instincts may laugh at this; but of a race of Kings who could behave so, no taint or whisper can deny the high aim in the administration of justice betokened by what may in this narration appear a legend.

CHAPTER VIII.

South India with its fertile soil, luxuriant crops, natural resources and beauties was the cynosure of attraction to the kings of the northern countries and yet till the third century A. D. the triumvirate of Pandyas, Cheras and Cholas were practically free from any pressure from the north. The first invasion was by Pallavas who originally belonged to Jagadwipa, a country to the northwest of India. Their reputed geneology is as follows:—Four removes from Brahma came Barathvaja, next Drona, from whom descended Aswathama of whom after tapas and by Menaka was born Pallava, the founder of the Pallava dynasty. Gradually they settled in Afghanistan and it was in the 2nd century A. D. they advanced into Central India, conquered the Andhras and established themselves in scattered kingdoms. They belong to Bharatwaja Gothram; and Pappanswami Maharaja was their first king who ruled in Thondamandalam, farfamed for his charities and princely gifts of gold and *maniams*. Next reigned his son Sivakundan with greater renown than his father for charities and for systematic government besides flourishing trade with Ceylon and Burma. In the 5th centry 7 kings reigned all noted for their gifts (sasanams) and 4 other kings in the 6th century equally famed for their charities. In the 7th century reigned Mahendran (600—630) farfamed alike in the arts of war and the arts of peace, in conquests, in constructing tanks and in literature. In his time stone temples were built for Siva and Vishnu, a King devoted to Saivism, initiated into wisdom by Saint Apparswamy.

Next reigned Narasimhan (630—650) in whose time lived Thirugnanasambhandar who sang thevaram for Pallavanicharam, a temple built by Pallavas. It was this Narasimhan that fought intrepidly with his father's enemy, Pulakesi, a Chalukyan King, and after defeating him seized and destroyed Vadapi in 642, which incident is memorialised in a stone inscription which though worn out contains the name Mahamalla Pallava Narasimha Vishnu. His commander-in-chief was Paranjothi later on canonised as one of the 63 saints, சிறுத்தொண்ட நாயனார்

(Siruthonda Nayanar), whose various exploits in the conquest of Vadapi are sung in the Periapuranam.

In the dissensions between the Ceylon king Hatha Thathan and the Junior Prince Manavamman, the latter besought the help of Narasimhan who with his army and ships conquired Hatha Thathan and installed Manavamman as king. Hence it used to be said that Narasimhan's conquest of Ceylon equalled if not excelled that of Sri Rama. In his time, trade flourished with China as well and frequent was the intercourse between these two countries. Narasimhan made Conjeevaram a strong seaport and called it Mamaliapuram subsequently called Mahabalipuram, so-called also after the descendants of Mahabali, a king of the Panars.

Next reigned Mahendran II 650 A. D. in whose time one Chalukya Vikramadityan, son of Pulakesi, invaded the Pallava country, and entered the Tamil Nadu. But his son Parameswara Patharayan (650—690) conquered Vikaramadityan and his reign was in a high degree prosperous, sculpture works, rock temples and systematic Poojah having risen to eminence. The Pallava kings who were in occupation of Thondanadu with their capital at Conjeevaram were merely feudatories of the Cholas in the 11th century A. D. In his time rose to power a dynasty called Muthurayar to the south of the Cauvery in Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts, originally petty kings in the pearl fisheries tracts. Their first king was Kuvavan (குவாவன்) Maran with the title Perumpidugu Mutharayar, with capitals at Tanjore and Vallam. They sank into insignificance in the 9th century before the Cholas who grew prosperous and occupied Tanjore.

Next reigned Pallava King Parameswaran's son Narasimhan II Raja Simha (690—710). In his time was built the Kailasanathaswami temple at Conjeevaram, and when he fixed an auspicious day for its installation and consecration, God, according to an accepted tradition appeared in his dream the previous night and asked him to postpone it to some other date saying that he had to honour Pusalar Nayanar with his presence. In his days two of his petty kings by name ஐயடிகள் காடவர்கோன் நாயனர்

and கழற்சிங்கநாயனார் were so devotly fixed in the Siva faith that they were canonised as saints and included among the 63 saints of the Saivite calendar.

In 710—717 Parameswaram II ruled equitably and illustriously and next Nandi Varma Pallavamallan (710-779), a relation of the last king elected by the people to perpetuate the dynasty, who performed Aswamatha yagam. In his time Chalukya King Vikaramaditya II warred against and conquered the Pallava King, and his son Kirtharaman II routed the Pallavas and occupied Conjeevaram; but in 760 the Chalukyan power declined, Pallavas rose to eminence and the decay of Buddhism set in. The Panars ruled in his time in the tracts between the Tamil and the Telugu countries, called Magada, and their title was வாணாதிராயர். Prominent among them was one Perumpidugu Muthurayan who ruled till ousted by Vijialayam in 860 A. D. Pallava King Mallari's son Thanthi Varman reigned from 779 to 830. During his reign, the Rashthrakudas rose agin to prominence and defeated Thanthi Varman.

From 830 to 854 Nandi Patharayan reigned who drove out Varaguna Pandian from Thondainadu and ruled Cholamandalam as Pallavarayan in whose time the Mahabharatha was composed by Perundhavanar. The famous Sri Manickavasagar also lived in this reign. Muthurayars declined in power and Chola Rajahs rose to prominence about this time. There is a tradition that he cheerfully and willingly met his demise, charmed and merged in hearing the mortal stanzas of 100 verses (a கலம்பகம்) composed out of spite by his own brother and sung musically on vinai by a dancing girl, of which the hundredth stanza is :—

வானுறு மதியை யடைந்ததுன் வதனம் வையகமடைந்ததுன் கீர்த்தி
கானுறு புலியை யடைந்ததுன் வீரம் கற்பகமடைந்ததுன் கரங்கள்
தேனுறு மலரானரியிடம் சேர்ந்தான் செந்தழல் புகுந்ததுன் மேனி
யானுமென் கவியுமெவ்விடம் புகுவேம் எந்தையே நந்திநாயகனே.

[நந்திக்கலம்பகம், 100.]

From 854 to 880 reigned Thungapatharayan who fought with Varaguna Pandian at Kumbakonam successfully and in whose time the Chola king seized Tanjore from Muthurayan and reigned prosperously. In his time lived பெரியாழ்வார் of Villuputhur, Andal known also as சூடிக்

கொடுத்த நாச்சியார் for the reason that she stealthily wore flowers intended for the deity and returned them when asked for, and also நம்மாழ்வார் born at திருக்குருகூர், who all composed and sang the திருவாய் மொழி. This Chola king, Vijayalayan, was succeeded by his son Aditya I Raja. kesari, who conquered the Kongu country (Salem and Coimbatore Districts) in 894 A.D. His successor, Parantaka, acquired large territories from Suchindram to Kalahasti and to Karur on the west with his capitals at Conjeevaram and Tanjore. His queen was a princess of Kerala. The last Pallava King that reigned was Abarajitha Patharayan from 170 to 900 between whom and the Chola King, Aditya Rajakesari, war ensued in which the Pallava King was ousted. With him ended the Pallava dynasty while the Chola dynasty rose to power and ruled over Thondamandalam also.

In about the 12th century one of the Pallavarayars married a Chola princess. Their throne was a six-feet stool, their flag bore the figures of both the tiger and fish and they wore garlands of the காவி, the அத்தி (symbol of Chola) and margosa (symbol of Pandyas). After the fall of the Pallava dynasty some stayed as feudatories in the northern districts, while others remained as chieftains and ministers under the Chola Rajah. Ousted from the Thondamandalam, some chiefs of the Pallavas with the title of Thondaman settled as petty kings at Arantangi, Kalathur, Ambukoil etc. It was the Thondaman that ruled at Ambukoil that later on became the King of Pudukotta, which line is being illustriously perpetuated from 1986. It will thus be seen that the Pallavas constitute an illustrious race far-famed for their charities, Inams, grants, sculptural works and rock temples and the establishment on a firm basis of the Siva and Vaishnava faiths.

The last of the Chola kings was Virasakaran who turned the then Pandyan ruler Chandrasekaran out of Madura. The latter appealed to Krishna Deva Rayalu, whereupon his viceroy Nagamma Naik, deputed to restore the Pandyan King, stripped the Chola of both the Madura and the Tanjore principalities and ruled as the king of both. His son, Viswanadha Nayak, who was deputed by Rayalu to punish the father, ousted him and ruled at Madura and founded the Nayak dynasty. Sevappa

Nayak was the first prince of Tanjore, who was succeeded by his son Achyuthappa Nayak, who was followed by his son, Raghunadha Nayak, who was succeeded by his son Vyjaya Ragava Naik. Thus 4 Nayak kings reigned from 1530 to 1662. The Vijianagar dynasty about this time declined and and became extinct, and the Nayak dynasty became independent. As regards Tanjore, Madura Nayak Sockanatha Naik demanded for his marriage a girl of the Tanjore Nayak family on refusal of which, on the score of communal inferiority, a fight ensued for days together. In the said bottle both fought undauntedly and Tanjore Vijaya Ragunadha Nayak who was scrupulous in guarding his family purity and chastity and struggled with redoubled vigour had to die, his zenana being destroyed by fire simultaneously by some prearrangement. All this occurred in 1662 and the scene of this catastrophe is at present a garden close by and to the north of the present Sangeetha Mahal, with some burnt relics in which some Mangalavilas members used to offer Pujah in honour of the deceased women. Next, Alagiri Nayak exercised sovereign power at Tanjore. Sengamala Das, the baby of the crown Rani of Vijaya Ragava Naik almost miraculously saved in that lamentable tragedy, was taken to the Badsha of Bijapur who ordered the Maharatta General Ekoji to drive out the usurper and place Sengamala Das on the musnud. Dissensions arose as to who should be the guardian minister of the minor king ; and Ekoji ruled at Tanjore in 1674, whence came into existence the Mahratta dynasty at Tanjore. At the end of the 17th century when the southern conquest of the Pathan rulers of Bijapore and Golkonda were brought under the Moghul dominions, the Tanjore principality became a tributary. thereto. So continued the Mahratta Rajahs until the establishment of the power of Nabab Mahommad Ali with the aid of the British arms over the Carnatic about 1761. when they became defacto tributaries of the Nabob and soon after of the English as assignees of his tribute. Tanjore became in fact a protected state of the British Empire and in 1799 it was ceded to the British by Serfoji, the 11th Rajah, under the treaty dated 25th October, 1799. With the death in 1855 of his son, the 12th and last Rajah, Sivaji, the Mahratta dynasty of Tanjore ended.

CHAPTER IX.

A note about the Chalukyas is worth adding as they played a somewhat important part in Chola history. As detailed a history is not available of them as of the Cholas and the Pallavas; it is only known that they belonged to the Provinces known as Kundalam on the banks of the Thungabadra and that they came into prominence first in about 973 A. D. by conquering இரட்ட ராஜ்ஜியம், which is adjacent to their country. In 947 A. D. Chola Rajah Rajathithan ascended the throne and two years later aspired to invade the said இரட்ட ராஜ் யம், otherwise known as Rastrakudam then ruled by Ahalavarshan alias Krishna Thevan III and by Kumaradevan. Aware of this Kumaradevan assembled an army and encountered the Chola Rajah who defeated Kumara Devan, but was murdered the very night by Kumara Devan's sister's husband, Pudakan or Pudarajan. Kumara Devan thus treacherously acquired the Chola kingdom and reigned for 18 years, and thereafter கொட் டிக தேவன் and கக்கருஜன் and for 1 and 2 years respectively. Western Chalukyas, known as Kundalars, whose kingdom was adjacent, invaded Rashtrakudam and conquered that country. Then the Chola kingdom regained its liberty. In about 985 A. D. Chola Pince Rajendran, as deputed by his father Raja Rajan, conquered Venganadu, captured Vimaladithan, a member of the Chalukya dynasty, and got him interned at Tanjore for 23 years, after which Vimaliditban got married to Raja Rajan's daughter குந்தவை. After several conquests Raja Rajan warred against and defeated the western Chalukya king, சத்தியாகிரியன். Five or six years after his coronation, Rajendran fought with the western Chalukyan king, Jayasingam II, and seized Irattapadi then in his possession. During the time of the next Chola Raja, Rajathi Rajan, Kundalam (western Chalukya) was again invaded and its king Ahama Vallan and his sons Vikramadithan and Vishnu Varthanan were defeated with their generals and their city Kollipauk burnt. A second war ensued in which the Chalukya capital was captured and the palace demolished; and finally while fighting with him, Rajathi Rajan was killed. In 1052, Rajendra Thevan who

ascended the Chola throne, warred against the Chalukyas, seized Kallapuram and after a slight repulse, fought with renewed vigour, killed some of their commanders while others took to their heels, and captured their elephants and banners. The next Chola Rajah, Vira Rajendran, continued the Chalukya war and was victorious, routing the Chalukyan chief and commanders and seizing their elephants and flags. Challenged to a war by the Chalukya Ahamavallan, the Chola Rajah sped to கூடல் and not finding the enemy, harried the country here and there and planted a pillar of victory on the banks of the Thungabadra. Thereafter Ahamavallan turned up to surrender himself before the Chola Rajah who benevolently handed over to him ரெட்டைப்பாடி and gave his daughter in marriage to him. During the reign of the next Chola Rajah, Athirajendran, Kulothungan, Prince of Venganadu, who was ousted by Rajah Vijyathevan, conspired with western Chalukya king Someswaram II against the Chola Rajah, killed him and assumed the Chola throne as being the grandson of Raja Rajendra Sholagan by his daughter மதுராந்தகி. Learning all the above, Chalukya Raja Vikramadithan, son-in-law of Chola Rajah, Vira Rajendran, fought against Kulothungan, but was routed. Kulothungan, in whom were merged the Chola and the Chalukyan dynasties, became the emperor of the Chola kingdom and was called also Rajendran, Anabayan, Karikalan etc. Wars again ensued between Kulothugan and the Chalukya Rajah Vikramadithan with no material results, however.

CHAPTER X.

It will be seen from all the above that in the Chola dynasty,—the unfortunate and infelicitous mistransliteration of Cholan into Soran being responsible for the term Kallan as applied to a really Chola community—there has been a fusion of many a dynasty. Notwithstanding the ceaseless wars between the Chera, Chola and Pandya Kings frequent were the intermarriages among them. There had also been the admixture of the furious Naga tribe, a Chola King having married a Naga princess. Cholas had relations for a long time with Ceylon which they invaded as early as 247 B.C. and a Chola King took to wife a princess of that country. There had also been intermarriages with the Pallavas. The Chalukyas, eastern and western, contributed their share also to the fusion, sons and grandsons born of Chalukyan princesses having claimed and reigned in the Chola kingdom. Inherent in them are the characteristics of the Hoysala Ballavas who occupied the southern dominions of the western Chalukyas and interfered in the affairs of South India. The Muthurayans added their share to the welding as will be seen from the holders of the title in some pattis. No less has been the part played by Panars, as may be witnessed from the title of Vanathirayan now borne by some of the community and from the title of Mavali borne by the descendants of the Mavali King of Panars who flourished in the middle of the 7th century, though the above are few and far between. The Nayak dynasty played its part in the intermingling as will be seen from the profuse holding of this title by this community, Vijia Naik rulers having sent their chieftain to quell disturbances, to restore to their right owners kingdoms unjustly acquired and see their orders carried out. Thondamandalam Mudaliars also contributed to the fusion.

Of course their original caste purity cannot be expected to be perpetuated, degeneration had to occur by intermarriages, facial traits having changed within the past 30 years of my personal experience though their moral characteristics remain unaltered. It was the Muhammadans and Maharattas that had absolutely nothing to do

with the welding of the races, the former being of an alien faith and the latter their (Muhammadan's) sympathisers and proteges. As it happened, it was in their time the misnomer saw daylight. The natural result of the above—detailed fusion is that in this misnamed community are to be found traits not to be met with in any one caste or tribe. Their warlike virtues have, it is rightly remarked in the Madura and Tanjore District Gazetteers, been cultivated to a Spartan standard, death being preferred to public exposure of their wounds obtained in warfare. Unique is their support and defence of females whatever their caste, and of the Brahmins and of the helpless in general. The fear of God is inherent in them and devotion to Sri Subramania, the God of Valour. " Do ut des " was literally adopted and enforced by their hard selfabnegations and self-tortures. Inherent and self-guarded is the chastity of their females. One chief characteristic in which one member of this community is like another, is spontaneous submission to courtesy and justice, resentment rising to a climax and equally to vindictiveness at sight of wrong being righted and right being wronged, no matter by whatever higher castes of people. The connextion with the Naga tribe by marriage, is clearly evidenced by their ruthless vindictiveness at sight of wrong and injustice and by their being spellbound by kindness and courtesy. The above are the general traits of this community. The admixture of Thondamandalam Mudaliars has enhanced their cleanly habits, their courteous demeanour, their philanthropy, as also their costume. The above characteristics are found in them varying from the ideal as realised in the three shining gems of aristocracy and their respectable conventions too well-known to be mentioned, (the families of Vandayar, Thevar, and Papanad Zemin). As at present traced there are 330 titles borne by this community though their origin has been left to be investigated by some skilled and disinterested student. The history as above narrated will account for such titles as Patharayan, Pallavarayan, Thondaman, Chaluvar, Naicker, Pandyar, Solagar, Solathurayan, Manathirayan and Mudaliyar etc.

A few words more and I shall be done with my undertaking. The whole history were fruitless if a study thereof do not lead the poorer members of the community

to realise their time-honoured status and conduct themselves accordingly. This self-willed and strong-minded community needs no further exhoration than the above; the long and short of which is economy and frugality, their wonted habit being to be lavish of expenditure when resourceful and to borrow when needy. They must clearly remember that borrowing dulls the edge of sharp husbandry and that once a borrower ever a borrower, a chronic devouring disease to which they should never give way in despair, bearing in mind the golden maxim of Shakespeare.

" Beware of desperate steps."

'The darkest day will tomorrow have shone away.'

With fervent prayers that this community will turn a new leaf in its career, as my advice inculcated throughout can be fruitful only if it is lived, I conclude.